

Socialist Party States Position on U.S. Policy In Latin America and War

The following is an official manifesto of the Socialist Party of the United States, adopted by the National Executive Committee during the week just past:

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in common with enlightened men and women of the United States, observed with amazement the perilous march of the American Government toward war in the past few weeks. Within a few short years after the end of a war for the "right of small nations" and for "self-determination," the Washington Administration intervenes in a Latin-American nation, lands armed forces to protect a reactionary claimant to the executive power and sanctions the issuance of a statement against Mexico that is insulting in tone, false in its allegations, and tending to provoke war.

For a generation American arms have sustained dictators in the republic of Nicaragua who have served Americans with investments in that country. Within a year after the withdrawal of American marines an election resulted in the ousting of a reactionary president and the election of a liberal one. A revolt followed, both sides appeal to arms, and the Washington Administration supports Diaz, the accomplice of Chamorro in the reactionary revolt. Explanation after explanation is offered by the Coolidge Administration, each contradicting the other, and culminating in the insulting attack by Secretary of State, Kellogg, on Mexico.

It is no accident that the Kellogg attack appears at a time when the Mexican Government is attempting to recover its rich economic resources by enforcement of its oil and land laws. It is a notorious fact that since the time of the administration of the late President Carranza the American Administration has coerced and threatened Mexico because of these laws. Our Government has apparently acted on the theory that the Mexican people have no right to an investigation of American titles to various properties in Mexico and that Mexico cannot enact fundamental laws without the consent of American investors and the approval of the American Government.

The history of our relations with Mexico and Latin-American nations in general since the seizure of the canal strip in Panama has been one long record of shameless bullying of weaker nations. We have driven governments out of office in Haiti and San Domingo and administered these little nations in the interest of American bankers. We have made Panama a crown colony and maintain a protectorate over Cuba. We have given a free hand to naval officers in ruling the Virgin Islands. We have backed up American financial penetration of Central America with police power. We dictate who shall be president in Nicaragua and attempt to tell Mexico what kind of constitution and laws the Mexican people may have.

We submit that the past few weeks show that sinister interests in this country seek the complete domination of Mexico and Latin-America, that they are reckless and unscrupulous, and that peace in the Western Hemisphere is uncertain so long as these interests have any influence in Washington. They know that the unstable social, political and economic conditions in large areas of Latin-America provide an American Balkans for intrigue, power and war. Our mercenary investors seek for any excuse to obtain economic control and political mastery. If war is necessary they will favor war.

We appeal to citizens in general and the organized workers in particular to do their utmost to create a public opinion against American aggressions in Mexico and Latin-America. Some of these nations, Mexico in particular, are undergoing rapid political, social and religious changes that France and the American colonies experienced more than a hundred years ago. They are entitled to our sympathy and encouragement. They are offered obstruction, threats, intervention and possibly war.

We also urge our Socialist friends and sympathizers to redouble their efforts to ward off the fatal adventure of war by every educational means possible, by circulation of the party press, by public meetings, by publicity, by resolutions and dissemination of literature making known the dangers that confront us.

Away with war and threats of war. Let us have peace and fraternity, good-will and co-operation, with all the peoples of the world!

British Capitalism Puts Its O. K. On Italian Fascism

Winston Churchill, Puts Seal of British Government on Mussolini Rule

(From the Chicago Tribune Press Service)

ROME, Jan. 20.—Winston Churchill, chancellor of the British exchequer, today placed the seal of the British government's approval on Fascism. In behalf of Great Britain he thanked Premier Benito Mussolini for his services to the world in combating the "Russian poison." This was the substance of an interview handed to representatives of the Italian and foreign press at the British embassy. Owing to the joint responsibility of the British government for the declaration of any of its ministers, Mr. Churchill's statements are of utmost importance in international relations.

Speaking of the international aspects of Fascism, he said: "Externally your movement has rendered a service to the whole world. The great fear which has beset every democratic or working class leader has been that of being undermined or overthrown by some one more extreme than he. It seemed that a continued progression to the left and a sort of inevitable landslide into an abyss was characteristic of all revolutions. Italy has shown that there is a way to fight subversive forces."

This is an endorsement not only of the unspeakable enslavement of labor in Italy, but of the overthrow of

democracy and constitutional government by force, assassination and execution of political opponents, burning and destruction of peaceful cooperatives; the brutal crushing of a movement that was democratic in all its aims and processes—the Socialist movement—and the suppression of all freedom of speech and thought. It serves notice on the world that British capitalism, which has always boasted of its democracy and constitutionalism is ready to defend its plundering processes by the same methods, if the latter become necessary.

International Labor Is Against U. S.—Imperialism

LONDON.—American intervention in Mexico was unanimously denounced by the representatives of the workers of eleven nations who assembled in Amsterdam last week for the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The men gathered in the hall were the authorized spokesmen of 17,000,000 trade unionists. They assured the Mexican people of their sympathy and urged "resistance against foreign aggression and interference."

Leaders of all unions said in substance:

"The action of the Washington government is interpreted everywhere by Democrats and Laborites as confirming Old World suspicions concerning the hypocrisy, greed and imperialistic designs of the United States."

Tales of Bolshevism in Mexico is silly. We have all read for a year past the attacks on the Mexican government which have been printed in

U. S. State Department Prevented Oil Agreement

Read very carefully this tremendously significant inside story of developments in the Mexican situation. It entirely confirms what the Appeal pointed out two weeks ago as a probable development.

At that time the Appeal pointed out that after the foreign oil companies in Mexico, including of course the American, had practically all agreed to the New Mexican laws, the leading American oil interests had suddenly and mysteriously swung back to the attitude representing the stubborn and dangerous position of Coolidge and Kellogg.

The Appeal pointed out that this sudden swing was no doubt the result of strong pressure from the administration backed by those Wall Street elements interested more in preserving capitalism and imperialism than they are in the oil interests.

Small Agreements

This position of the American Ap- peal has been strikingly confirmed by the following article by Dexter K. Keeler, writing for the Scripps Howard newspaper:

Washington, Jan. 15.—A week before the Mexican oil land laws were to go into effect Jan. 1, all of the important American producing companies in Mexico had agreed to accept them.

The United States state department prevented the agreement.

This statement, which shifts American diplomacy in Mexico from oil to an even more elusive base, was made here today by Frank Y. McLaughlin of Mexico City, who has been directing large oil operations in Mexico for six years.

"Shortly before the oil land laws were to go into effect," said McLaughlin, "a director of the Mexican Oil Producers' association, representing all of the big companies doing business in Mexico, told Isaac Marsson, correspondent for the Saturday Evening Post, in my presence at my home, that the oil operators had agreed to accept the laws."

Surprised by Change

"A few days later I was surprised to learn that the operators had changed their minds. The only reason that I could discover was that the United States state department had advised against it, and wouldn't agree to back up Americans who accepted the laws in possible future disputes with the Mexican government."

Why did the state department block what McLaughlin says was an assured settlement between the Amer-

ican oil producers and the Mexican government?

McLaughlin, at present vice-president of the Compania Mexicana de Petróleo, a French company operating on Mexican government lands, admits he isn't entirely certain.

As an oil operator, interested in getting oil out of the ground, he says he is at an entire loss to explain the state department's interference with what the oil operators considered a satisfactory adjustment.

But as one familiar with American operations in exploiting resources in Mexico for 6 years, two of them spent in directing 12 millions of construction work for American companies in all parts of the country, McLaughlin has an explanation.

The explanation, if true, throws a whole new light on the Mexican situation.

Private Property

It's an explanation which runs not in terms of oil, but of property rights.

The Mexican oil land laws, extending titles—many of them very doubtful ones—for fifty-year leases, were all that practical oil men wanted, he said. But they were not at all satisfactory to state department lawyers.

A lease is limited in time. A property right in "fee simple" is presumably good for all time. A lease, from a lawyer's point of view, is something less than an adequate title.

The Mexican government was proposing to substitute leases for titles. These leases, McLaughlin contends, were just as good as titles for the oil men, but they represented a restriction of property rights which had been "duly acquired" by the American companies. They represented, in other words, what might be construed as a reduction of private property rights.

The state department, he thinks, was unwilling to countenance any interference with American property rights in Mexico, and consequently told the oil operators to refuse to agree to the land laws.

The preceding might be followed in other Latin and South American countries where extensive operations are in progress or contemplated, and become extremely bothersome.

The Mexican government's proposal to change lease for absolute title to the oil lands at the root of Secretary Kellogg's charges that Mexico is Bolshevik?

McLaughlin thinks it may be.

State Mill Saved North Dakota One Million in 1926

Return of Farmers to Political Power Is Making Success of Publicly-Owned Plant.

The great flour mill at Grand Forks, North Dakota, owned and operated by the state, directly and indirectly saved the farmers and the consumers of North Dakota more than a million dollars in 1926, and this big publicly owned industry has been operating on a profit instead of a deficit ever since the farmers came back to political power in the state. This message was brought to Chicago during the week by F. D. Freeman, former Nonpartisan League organizer, now engaged in opening up a market large enough to take the big output of this mill.

In 1923 and 1924, said Mr. Freeman, the mill, under a state government controlled by the reactionary anti-farmer and anti-labor elements, reported deficits. This fact was seized upon by the big business elements and heralded as proof that industries cannot be operated by the state and that the North Dakota mill was bound to fail.

The election of Mr. Soris as governor by the farmers changed the mill situation. In 1925 under Governor Soris the mill reported a profit of \$142,000 over actual operating expenses. The 1926 report has not yet been issued. It will show a profit for the mill.

Blocked in their attempt to kill the mill by political sabotage, the big interests centering in the milling interests in the Twin Cities flooded North Dakota with cut-rate mill products. Although this cut-throat competition put approximately 50 privately owned mills in North Dakota out of business, it has not been able to check the progress of the state-owned mill. The Grand Forks mill met the new rates and gave a much better product than the Minneapolis mills. It saved the farmers in strand and in screenings and lowered prices, and the people of North Dakota in cheapened flour fully a million dollars in 1926, said Mr. Freeman.

The plant at Grand Forks has three

subject here discussed is a trifle, but it is nevertheless of perennial interest to the workers.

The substantial progress of the Socialist movement and the successful outcome of the social revolution are wholly dependent upon the thorough and efficient organization of the working class. The impending social transformation involving the change from capitalism to Socialism is, therefore, in a word, a matter of organization.

But the fact should not be lost sight of that organization itself is subject to continuous change, especially in this evolutionary epoch, and that the forms and methods of a decade ago, or even less, are now outgrown, or at least out of date, and that unless organization adapts itself to the changing conditions under which the class struggle is being waged, its efficiency for goal will be impaired, and in time it will be discredited and fall into disuse, if it does not become entirely reactionary and a hindrance instead of a help to the workers.

The class struggle in the fact to be kept uppermost in mind when the matter of organization is considered is this: that in the bedrock of militant Socialism. Built upon this rock, industrial and political organization of the workers cannot fail. The storms and tempests may assail it, but it will stand impregnable and defiant against them all. But the very hour it slips from that foundation it is in the shifting and treacherous quicksands and its doom is sealed.

The economic and political organization of the working class upon scientific principles is the most stupendous undertaking in all the annals of the human race. It is nothing less than an impeachment of all the past and a challenge to all the future in the name of all humanity.

To overthrow the ruling class of the world is nothing compared to the organization of the working class.

It is precisely because the workers are not organized efficiently and are unable to develop and assert their insincible power that they grovel at the feet of their petty masters and cry out impotently against their unhappy fate.

(Continued on page 3)

From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

Need of Organization

The subject here discussed is a trifle, but it is nevertheless of perennial interest to the workers.

The substantial progress of the Socialist movement and the successful outcome of the social revolution are wholly dependent upon the thorough and efficient organization of the working class. The impending social transformation involving the change from capitalism to Socialism is, therefore, in a word, a matter of organization.

But the fact should not be lost sight of that organization itself is subject to continuous change, especially in this evolutionary epoch, and that the forms and methods of a decade ago, or even less, are now outgrown, or at least out of date, and that unless organization adapts itself to the changing conditions under which the class struggle is being waged, its efficiency for goal will be impaired, and in time it will be discredited and fall into disuse, if it does not become entirely reactionary and a hindrance instead of a help to the workers.

The class struggle in the fact to be kept uppermost in mind when the matter of organization is considered is this: that in the bedrock of militant Socialism. Built upon this rock, industrial and political organization of the workers cannot fail. The storms and tempests may assail it, but it will stand impregnable and defiant against them all. But the very hour it slips from that foundation it is in the shifting and treacherous quicksands and its doom is sealed.

The economic and political organization of the working class upon scientific principles is the most stupendous undertaking in all the annals of the human race. It is nothing less than an impeachment of all the past and a challenge to all the future in the name of all humanity.

To overthrow the ruling class of the world is nothing compared to the organization of the working class.

It is precisely because the workers are not organized efficiently and are unable to develop and assert their insincible power that they grovel at the feet of their petty masters and cry out impotently against their unhappy fate.

(Continued on page 3)

No Trace of Bolshevism

Until Dec. 31 he was chairman of the Employers' Association of Mexico City, representing \$750,000,000 of invested capital and dealing with 300,000 workmen, and on that job he says that he could find no traces of

bolshevism.

"Diaz gave Mexico away for foreign exploitation," he said, "and Obregon and Calles have been trying to get a little bit of it back to support the desperately poor Mexican nationals. That's probably radical from the point of view of people trying to squeeze every possible dime out of the country, but it's hardly bolshie. I can see, however, where an unsophisticated and highly technical lawyer might see something radical in abolishing formal property rights by substituting leases, and in a moment of excitement call it bolshie."

War for Dollars

Now that the mask is off, no true American should doubt the real purpose that would be behind a war with Mexico.

It would be for the purpose of establishing as a fixed and eternal principle for all time the right of PRIVATE PROPERTY IN THE SOURCES OF LIFE OF EVERY NATION.

This right is to be paramount to law, paramount to government. It is to be upheld by the guns and bayonets of the imperialist powers. It is to recognize the boundary lines, to trample under foot all democratic and all constitutions. In the face of its superior claims, no people are to be permitted to pass laws declaring the basic and mineral properties of their own countries their own.

Coolidge and Kellogg are willing to push the American people into war, willing to risk the lives of thousands of young men and waste billions of dollars to preserve capitalism by preventing the first extensive nationalization of natural resources that has been proposed on the Western Hemisphere.

This is the essence of the Mexican situation.

Do the American people agree?

Are they ready to shoulder arms and march to the drum beat into Mexico and offer their lives for such a cause?

The issue of arbitration has been raised in Congress and endorsed by Mexico. Give it your utmost support by bombarding your Congressmen and Senators with letters resolutions and petitions.

McLaughlin thinks it may be.

McLaughlin and Kellogg are willing to push the American people into war, willing to risk the lives of thousands of young men and waste billions of dollars to preserve capitalism by preventing the first extensive nationalization of natural resources that has been proposed on the Western Hemisphere.

This is the essence of the Mexican situation.

Do the American people agree?

Are they ready to shoulder arms and march to the drum beat into Mexico and offer their lives for such a cause?

The issue of arbitration has been raised in Congress and endorsed by Mexico. Give it your utmost support by bombarding your Congressmen and Senators with letters resolutions and petitions.

McLaughlin thinks it may be.</p

State-Ownership Is Success Under Labor Government

New South Wales Industries Grow and Earn Money for People

By W. Francis Ahern

SYDNEY—State-owned and controlled business enterprises in New South Wales earned big profits for the year ended June 30, 1926.

The state brickworks turned out a record output and made a net profit of \$139,660 for the year, after \$45,965 had been distributed to the employees over and above their wages, in accordance with the Labor government's policy of profit sharing. The profit was made despite the fact that the state works sold the bricks at \$5 per 1000, below the private enterprises.

So phenomenal is the trade of this state enterprise that \$130,000 was spent last year in expansion and a further \$250,000 this year. The works will soon be the largest in Australia. They are financed out of their own profits.

The state-owned quarries, providing material for roads and concrete making, made a net profit of \$11,225, after distributing \$32,240 among the employees above the regular wages. Additions are necessary for increased trade.

The state-owned reinforced concrete works showed a profit of \$170,000 for the year. They also work on their own profits, having paid back all capital advanced by the government. Bonus payments to the employees totaled \$31,115. These works are also being greatly extended. The product it sold far below privately owned works.

The state-owned building and construction works showed a profit of \$88,400 for the year, after distributing \$17,560 among the workers. This who enters the employ of the com-

enterprise has accumulated profits of \$162,620, special reserves of \$110,065 and reserves against depreciation of \$7,345.

On the state-owned dockyard a loss of \$62,405 was incurred. The dockyard, unlike private dockyards, has continued to pay its workers for 48 hours when the hours were reduced to 44, and has paid them for all holidays. In addition, it has given benefits to its customers during the year amounting to \$50,000 above what would have been given by private enterprise. Had these benefits been withheld, the state-owned dockyard would have shown a profit of \$33,000.

State-owned and controlled enterprises in New South Wales are today highly efficient, providing handsome profits on the capital, and at the same time saving the people of New South Wales large sums that otherwise would go to the profiteers.

Ford Shows How Machinery Ousts Skilled Workers

The comparatively high wages of skilled workers rests under capitalism on a foundation of sand. As machinery is introduced, not only does it reduce the number of workers necessary, but it enables the employers to get along without skilled workers and their high wages and to level down high wages everywhere.

The elimination of skilled workers by machinery is shown in the following news dispatch:

Detroit, Mich., Jan. 21.—The necessity for skilled labor at Ford Motor company plants has been eliminated with the substitution of modern machinery, in the opinion of Fay Leone Faurote, author of a number of engineering works.

The assistance of skilled labor was not required in 1913, nor is it required to-day, he declared. Faurote termed the Ford plants "mechanical marvels," and said a common laborer

can be trained to operate the machinery in three days. In some instances, he testified, all a man has to know is the difference in color of lights.

Latavia Socialists Break Capitalist Barrier to Russia

Socialist Cabinet In Pact That Breaks Down Baltic Wall Built By Allies

The Cordon Sanitaire erected by the capitalist nations out of the small Baltic nations, once a part of Russia, for the purpose of walling off Russia from capitalist Europe, has been broken down as a result of the election last summer in Latvia, which resulted in a Socialist cabinet. Feliks Ciebens, Socialist Foreign Minister of Latvia will sign two treaties with Russia, which will make Latvia a bridge between Russia and Western Europe instead of a barrier, as was the intention of the Treaty of Versailles.

Latvia's new diplomatic course is a surprise to the European chancelleries and possibly a cause of contention to some. Should it be successful, it would make this hitherto slightly noticed nation the crossroads between Russia and the outside world as well as the keystone of the Baltic-Balkan stripe separating western and eastern Europe.

The "treaties" include a non-aggression pact in which Russia and Latvia rule out war as a process in all dealings with each other. The commercial treaty will give Russia a corridor of its own to an ice free port over the old Russian railroads to Windau harbor.

The Socialist foreign minister is now working on treaties with Estonia, Lithuania and Poland, abolishing the customs barriers between Latvia and these countries.

Fight Begins On Evolution Bills

College professors in the Universities of Alabama and Arkansas are urged by the American Civil Liberties Union to join the fight against anti-evolution bills proposed January 13 in the legislatures of both states. The Union offered to aid chapters of the American Association of University Professors at Fayetteville, Ark., and University, Ala., in the struggle for "educational freedom."

The bills, introduced by Representative Atkins of Prairie County, Ark., and the Rev. C. O. Thompson of Etowah, Ala., would outlaw the teaching of "any theory that denies the story of Divine creation as taught in the Bible." The Civil Liberties Union is combating similar measures proposed since the first of the year in North Dakota and Minnesota, and one enacted last year in Mississippi.

"On general principles government

Chances Good for Government-Owned Boulder Dam Plan

WASHINGTON—A five-year fight to enact the "Swing-Johnson" bill to dam the Colorado River at Boulder Canyon advanced another step toward a final decision when the House rules committee heard pleas for a rule to bring the bill before the House.

Representative Smith (Rep.) of Idaho, chairman of the irrigation committee, declared that the flood menace on the lower Colorado makes early action imperative.

"On general principles government

building and operation might not be justified, but it is in this case," he said. "The interests of the people of many states are involved. The project site is government property. It would serve the interests of all better to have one great project than to have several private plants in the canyon."

The Boulder dam project, if completed, will be the largest power and irrigation project in the world. If privately owned, it is capable of breaking the grip of the dangerous super-power trust.

9 Faiths Join In War On War

Representatives of nine great religious faiths—blue-eyed Nordics and men dark with the hue of the Orient—broke bread together at the Morrison Hotel during the week and embarked on the common adventure of bringing about world peace.

"Modern war has been revealed for what it is," declared Dr. John Herman Randall. "As a result there is emerging a new spirit, seeking co-operation and mutual understanding. The myth of race superiority has been exploded. Ignorance of one another has given way to appreciation. Selfish nationalism has become an anachronism. We have learned that what hurts one nation hurts all."

A complete scientific reorganization of the entire economic structure of the planet is the only practical, workable basis on which world unity can be realized, in the opinion of Dr. Robert Haydon of the University of Chicago.

"If you want to discover how to promote racial friendship, analyze the causes of the differences and the friction between them. You will find that they are not based on color, or consciousness of racial differences, nor altogether on a superiority complex grounded in ignorance, but that it is the conflict of interests of group against group. In other words, it is largely economic."

Low Muscle Shoals Bids Bring Threat of U. S. Operation

WASHINGTON—House leaders issued a virtual ultimatum today to bidders to submit new offers in Muscle Shoals within ten days or to withdraw their present proposals.

The house military affairs committee, which will meet Tuesday to hear proponents of the "Sleepy" plan, will delay action until the end of next week to receive any other new offers. Representative James (R.) of Michigan, acting chairman of the committee, said.

"Bidders must convince us that they will better their previous offers or we will proceed to draft a bill providing for government operation," James declared.

British Labor Backs Way Leaders Handled The General Strike

LONDON, Jan. 21.—Executives of British trade unions, at an "inquest" on the unsuccessful general strike of last May, today voted 2,410,000 to 1,095,000, to endorse the general council of the Trades Union Congress in handling the strike.

U. S. to Stay In Nicaragua

WASHINGTON.—The administration will reject without comment the Borah Latin-American peace plan, a Republican spokesman at the capitol told the United Press today.

Marines will remain in Nicaragua as long as leaders here think it is necessary to protect American lives and property there and the Mexican dispute is not considered suitable for arbitration, declared this official, who is in a position to reflect the opinion of President Coolidge and Secretary of State Kellogg.

Socialist Party News

New York

The next meeting of the State Executive Committee is expected to take place in New York on the 30th of the month. One session will be devoted to a conference of the Committees with prominent Party members on the problems of organization raised by criticisms of the Party by Ghent, Russell, Berenberg, Fine and others.

State Secretary Merrill has planned to visit locals as follows: Poughkeepsie, January 28th; New Rochelle, January 31st; Yonkers February 2nd; Port Chester, February 3rd.

The average paid-up membership for the state during the year 1926, as compiled by the State Secretary, was the same as that during 1925. The aptate membership increased while the membership of Greater New York fell off slightly.

The best showing for the year was made by Buffalo. Organized Emil Herman put in considerable work in Buffalo last year, and its effect is manifest. Computation of paid-up membership is made on the basis of dues stamps purchased from the State Office and Language Federations. Book membership is four times paid-up membership in many instances.

New England District

Esther Friedman's dates are as follows: February 13, Springfield, Mass.; February 14, open; February 15, Maynard; February 16, Lowell; February 17, Boston; February 18, Worcester; February 19, Greenfield; February 20, Springfield; February 21, open; February 22, Maynard; February 23, Worcester; February 24, Boston; February 25, Worcester; February 26, Greenfield.

Any local or Workmen's Circle Branches which want to take either February 14, or February 21, may do so.

Joe Kelly, who was formerly a delegate from the A. F. of L. to the Mexican Federation of Labor, and knows Mexico very well, will speak at the C. L. U. in Worcester, Wednesday, Feb. 2; at the Boston Central Branch, 21 Essex St., on Thursday, February 3.

The Speakers Training Class in Boston has had successful meetings with Wendell Farrington on "Calvin Coolidge and Socialism" and Alfred Baker Lewis on "Graft." The subject January 30th will be "The Press and Public Opinion" and on February 6th, "The Results of Woman Suffrage."

The meetings are held each Sunday at 5:00 p. m. at 21 Essex Street, Boston.

The State Executive Committee has called on all branches to arrange meetings of protest against intervention.

tion in Nicaragua, and our bullying of Mexico.

Ohio

Comrade Willert, State Secretary of Ohio, informs us that there seems to be better activity during the last few weeks than there was for some time and he is in hopes that all the Appeal readers will become members of the Party and will co-operate with him in the building of a Party organization.

Cleveland

A resolution protesting this country's entrance into Nicaragua with marines was unanimously passed last night (January 17) at a meeting of the Cuyahoga County Central Committee of the Socialist Party.

The danger of another war, termed unnecessary, avaricious, and of our own making, is pointed out and the immediate withdrawal of the marines demanded in the resolution, the text of which follows:

"Whereas, the United States marines have invaded Nicaragua, in aid of a rebel contender for the presidency of that country who is a tool of American financial interests; and

"Whereas, the administration at Washington has adopted an insolent and unreasonable attitude toward Mexico in regard to the enforcement of the land, oil and mining laws of that country; and

"Whereas, we are thus heading toward another war, unnecessary, avaricious, and of our own making; and

"Whereas, at any moment these inflammable elements may burst into open conflict not only with Nicaragua, but also with Mexico, and our plea for peace will then be too late.

"Resolved, by the County Convention of the Socialist Party of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, that we solemnly protest against our country being rushed into war against the will of the people;

"Resolved further, that we urge the immediate withdrawal of the marines from Nicaragua, and

"Resolved further, that copies of these resolutions be sent to Senator William F. Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, Hon. Stephen G. Potter, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, to all our Ohio Senators and Congressmen, and to Hon. Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State."

Illinois

Members of the Socialist Party and readers of the American Appeal are urged to reserve Thursday evening, February 17th, Comrades Mahoney and Fogorec, the Committee in charge, promise to give the news on the next week's issue of the American Appeal. Watch for it.

Circulate the City Nominating Petitions. There will be no other working class party in the field. Their chorus.

Municipal Socialism in Glasgow

The success of municipal Socialism in Glasgow, the second largest City of Great Britain, is not being broadcast in our American daily press. Here are the assets and the liabilities of the undertakings of Glasgow, as given out by its City Chamberlain, May 31, 1926. All figures are in pounds sterling, a pound being equivalent to \$1.41, or thereabouts, in our money.

Common Good. Assets Liabilities

General 1,282,462 420,479

Tramway 7,666,184 1,645,461

Ardoil Estate and Farms 50,533 72,797

Fire Insurance Fund 171,210 23,984

Gas Measures Acts 10,820

Markets 597,662 216,632

Cattle, fish, etc. 224,755 201,583

Water 5,381,176 2,607,379

Gas 5,310,175 3,394,593

Electricity 8,293,585 5,992,263

Town Clerk's Fee Fund 12,954 7,922

The grand total of assets, including odd shillings and pence not indicated above, was 28,735,522 pounds, 16 shillings and 2 pence, while the total liabilities were 11,543,413 pounds and six pence. ASSETS WERE DOUBLE LIABILITIES.

The only thing not a financial success was the Ardoil estate which was conducted more as a public park.

ALL THESE UNDERTAKINGS WERE BUILT UP WITHOUT DIRECT COST TO THE TAXPAYERS.

Appeal Fund For the Week

Thirty-three friends of the American Appeal responded to the request of the National Executive Committee and made a total of new contributions for the week amounting to a few cents less than \$100.

We expect every reader of the Appeal who wants to see the paper and the cause grow to make their little contribution this year. A small contribution either in money or subs from each of our 20,000 readers, will not be missed by any of them. AND IT WILL PUT THE PAPER AND THE MOVEMENT AHEAD MORE.

HOW MANY NEW CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CAUSE ARE GOING TO RESPOND NEXT WEEK?

Here is the record for the week ending January 22, 1927:

Contributions

A. N. Walquist, Mercer Island, Wash. \$1.00

Nelson Lorentz, Port Perry, Pa. 1.00

J. A. Kaufman, Salt Lake City, Utah 1.00

Mrs. G. M. Lyons, South Bay, Fla. 1.00

Mike Posedel, Milwaukee, Wis. 1.00

Guy Juster, Milwaukee, Wis. 1.00

Mrs. Minnie Lusk, Myrtle Point, Ore. 1.00

A. Marxian, Tennessee 1.00

Geo. E. Hilton, St. Louis, Mo. 1.00

Aug. Komar, Cleveland, Ohio. 1.00

Harry L. Nelson, Elizabeth, N. J. 1.00

Chas. Kolb, Portland, Ore. 1.00

H. M. Hignett, Trafford, Pa. 1.00

Frank Brooks, Cleveland, Ohio. 1.00

George Vail Williams, Riverdale, N. J. 1.00

Coolidge Behind Big Business In Mexico, Rich Brokers Admit

The following is from a circular issued to investors last week by J. H. Goddard & Company, Stockholders, Boston, Mass.:

The outstanding market factor developed this past week has been the stand of President Coolidge on the Mexican-Nicaragua matter. Mr. Coolidge placed himself solidly behind big business. This must be very reassuring to concerns like the United Fruit Company, Standard Oil, Pan-American Petroleum, and others having interests in Mexico and Central America.

The United Fruit Company has been spending money in the tropics for more than twenty years and for the last ten years is supposed to have been in the position of holding Central America in the palm of its hand—holding with a tight grip it is true, but with a grip that tightens when necessity arises.

It must be reassuring to know that the Army and Navy of the United States are standing ready to protect American interests in Central America. It is a policy of this kind that has made the British Empire a world power and which has given British merchants command of world markets. Whenever a British commercial outfit goes out into the dark places of the world and appropriates a billion dollars' worth of raw materials the British Army and Navy are right there behind them and the bargain is always made to stick.

American pioneers of industry have in times past lacked this support from their government. Mr. Doheny went into Mexico and built a few hundred miles of modern highway for Porfirio Diaz and received in return twenty or thirty million dollars' worth of oil lands. Mr. Doheny undoubtedly feels that his interests are entitled to some protection and the same thing is true of other Americans holding oil and mineral concessions in Mexico.

The refreshing thing about Mr. Coolidge's message to Nicaragua, which is really a message to Mexico, is his naive frankness and the absence of patriotic ballyhoo. Mr. Coolidge merely states that American interests in Central America and Mexico will be protected.

As this is being written, the Mexican situation is still up in the air. Almost anything may happen, but all the indications are that we are drifting rapidly towards hostilities with Mexico.

If the United States gets mixed up in war with Mexico there is nothing to worry about so far as the market is concerned. Prices might decline for a few days and the stocks of corporations with Mexican and Central American interests might have violent temporary recessions. On such recessions, stocks like United Fruit, Pan-American Petroleum, International Telephone, United States Smelting and the Standard Oil should be bought.

If President Coolidge means what he says in his message and his official utterances the stocks of big companies having interests in Mexico and Central America are bargains on any setbacks from present prices. United Fruit, by the way, earned nearly \$8 a share in 1926. It is paying \$4 a share and should eventually sell at \$150.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Mexico Puts Coolidge And Kellogg on Trial

Mexico's offer to submit her own laws to arbitration has put President Coolidge and Secretary of State Kellogg on trial before the world.

They have set themselves squarely against arbitration of the differences between the United States and Mexico over the Mexican land and oil laws.

The American president's stand is in striking contrast with that of President Calles of Mexico. The Mexican government has taken the very unusual attitude that it is willing to have the validity of its own laws enacted by the legal majority in Mexico questioned and arbitrated by an international tribunal.

President Coolidge has declared that private property rights of American citizens monopolizing the resources of Mexico cannot be arbitrated. In the eyes of Coolidge it is all right to arbitrate the laws of another country applying to foreigners, but that the property rights of foreigners must not be arbitrated.

President Coolidge's arguments, as set forth in a news item in this issue of the Appeal, are both vicious and absurd. He says that all he is contending for is the prevention of the confiscation of American property in Mexico without compensation.

If President Coolidge is so sure that this principle is so eternally right, why does he not allow it to be submitted to an impartial world court?

The fact that Coolidge is not willing to permit the arbitration of this question convicts him of lack of faith in his own side or in sincerity. If in the fact of the Mexican offer he persists in refusing arbitration and war results the blood will be on the hands of President Coolidge.

Mexico has opened the way to peace. Mexico is willing to abide by the decision of an international body, even to the extent of modifying its own laws, if that body decides that it should do so. Beyond this, no country can go.

Mexico's generous offer has put Coolidge and Kellogg on trial before the world. If they persist in the administration's policy of coercion, intervention and war, they will be adjudged by all the truly democratic and civilized elements of the world as criminal disturbers of world peace, or the helpless tools of remorseless American imperialism, and every American citizen will be injured by this judgment of civilization.

Lost: Twenty-Two Billion Dollars

Charles M. Ripley of the General Electric Company, Schenectady, N.Y., sends in corrections on American Appeal figures in an article in the Appeal, No. 20, headed, "Government Figures Explode Prosperity Myth."

The Appeal article was handed to a man in Schenectady who is described as "a wizard at figures." His comment on the Appeal article is as follows:

"The fundamental error in the attached clipping from the 'American Appeal' is, that no tax returns were reported in 1924 by married men whose net incomes were less than \$2500 per year.

There were reported 2,413,881 incomes from \$1,000 to \$2,000, and 2,112,993 of from \$2,000 to \$3,000*** the former figure includes no married men, and the latter only a small minority."

"Instead of saying that at least fifteen million American families had to exist on less than \$1,000 a year, the author should have said that at least fifteen million had to live on \$2,500 a year or less."

"The author*** says—and I think he is approximately right—that 'The income of all the people in the United States is around Sixty Billion Dollars a year.'

"The total income reported on tax returns, as per his list, is about Twenty Six Billion. The difference is Thirty Four Billion, which of course went to those who did not make tax returns. There are fifteen million such families, he says—and I agree with him. Thirty-four billion divided between fifteen million families, is nearly \$2,300 apiece, not less than \$1,000 apiece."

The Appeal admits that it inadvertently overlooked the fact that married men with incomes of less than \$2,500 a year did not file income tax returns, but we cannot accept the conclusion of the critic that the richer one third of the American people received only 26 billion dollars of the national income, or an average of about \$3,600 per income, while the poorer two-thirds received 34 billion, or about \$2,300 per income.

There is no such even distribution of wealth evident in America as that. Every investigation by government departments, commissions or research private bodies shows that this conclusion is absurd.

In Nicaragua the liberal government's foreign minister tells William Phillip Simms that President Sacasa is ready to resign if Kellogg's president Diaz, will do the same and to have a new election supervised by the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

This would end the difficulty in Nicaragua. It would remove the "necessity" for marines.

Still another opportunity has been offered. Costa Rica is ready to mediate between the Sacasa and Diaz factions. Sacasa says he will accept mediation. Diaz refuses.

Kellogg could change Diaz' mind in minutes by withdrawing, or announcing his intention to withdraw the marines. Diaz would then agree to any kind of mediation.

The state department has knowledge of all these proposals. It knows of still other methods whereby reason could be substituted for the present blind-bullying and blustering.

It seems utterly determined to go thru with its program, no matter how many dollars it may cost, or how many lives.

Only an aroused public can bring the state department back to its senses.

Need of Organization

(Continued from page 1)

The ruling masters of capitalism of themselves are not strong but pitifully weak and contemptibly vulnerable. The despotic power they have and exercise, as such power is always exercised, is not inherent in themselves or in their class at all, but is to be found in the ignorance, weakness and impotency of their unorganized and helpless workers who are dependent upon them for employment.

The task before us, therefore, is the economic and political organization with all the education, enlightenment, discipline and self-restraint this implies, of the working class.

The recruiting, awakening and coordination of the workers in their own Industrial Grand Army, where they stand elbow to elbow in class conscious array, feeling themselves

multiplied many times by the magic touch of solidarity, and their spirits rising within them and finding expression in boundless enthusiasm in anticipation of the fulfillment of their ardent dream of emancipation, is the grandest work in which any human being ever engaged since the world was born.

To give one's self wholly and unreservedly to this cause is to be born again and to feel the new life bounding in one's veins and swelling into hope, courage, and self-reliance such as forever defy disappointment and defeat and stand unafraid before all the upheavals of the past.

To the extent that the workers are rightly organized and fitted to take their places in the new order as free and self-governing citizens of the collective commonwealth, the revolution will come in peace instead of the deluge of blood which has accompanied all the upheavals of the past.

We need not worry as to how to get rid of our exploiters once we know how to get along with ourselves.

With the workers organized as an industrial and political army, they could walk peacefully into their own, and all the power that now rules and curses the world would dissolve and fade away at their conquering approach.

The unity of the workers and how to accomplish it is the open sesame to the promised land.

Let us study the art of how to unite for our common good, and stop fighting among ourselves for our common destruction!

Let us bind all our energies to organize the workers industrially and politically and let minor differences take care of themselves!

The industrial evolution is compelling the industrial organization of the workers, and we have but to watch its progress and adapt our methods to the changing conditions.

Today craft unionism is outworn and class unity along industrial lines is the demand!

And the industrial union and the political party of the workers, being of the same class and the same aim and aspiration, must inevitably be mutually conscious of each other, and like the two separate engines of a locomotive, work together reciprocally toward the common end.

(Continued from page 1)

State Mill Saves Million in 1926

(Continued from page 1)

Under the guidance of the United States, delegates from the five central American states met and drew up a series of conventions designed to promote unity in Central America.

The most important of these agreements was the one providing for a central America Court of Justice composed of five members, one from each state, to which all disputes would be referred until further notice.

The United States, not a signatory to these conventions, began to take a hand in settling disputes.

In Nicaragua President Jose Santos Zelaya opposed the attempts of the United States to extend its control over Nicaragua by obtaining Fonseca Bay and a canal route, as well as attempts of American business men to establish themselves in a republic.

(Continued from page 1)

A revolution against Zelaya broke out, financed by Adolfo Diaz, a local official of Buena Vista at La Loma y Los Angeles Mining Company, an American corporation, the same Diaz that the United States has lately recognized as President. Diaz was receiving a salary of \$10,000 a year. Though he was not known to have other resources, he was in a position to advance \$600,000 in behalf of the revolution and eventually he repaid him self.

The revolution broke out October 8. On October 7, the American consul, seeming to know of the revolution in advance, wired Washington that it would break out the next day and that the new government would make a revolution.

On October 8, the American consul, and the new government would appeal to Washington immediately for recognition.

He was not informed of the secret movements of the revolutionists.

Five days later Consul Thomas C. Moffat reported that a provisional government had been established with General Juan Estrada at the head and that the government was "friendly to American interests" and guaranteed "a payment of all concessions not owned by foreigners."

As the fighting between the Zelaya government and the rebels grew sharper, steamers of the United States Fruit Company and other American vessels bearing the Nicaraguan flag transported men and munitions for the revolutionists with the knowledge and assistance of the State Department representatives in Washington.

The pretext for an open break with the Zelaya government came late in 1926, when two American filibusters, caught trying to dynamite a vessel loaded with Zelaya's men, were court-martialed and executed after a confession. Although these filibusters had assumed all of the responsibilities of war, Secretary of State Moffat, on December 1, sent a note to the Nicaraguan Charge d'Affaires giving him his passports and declaring that the United States was on the side of revolutionaries.

Zelaya—opposed by American interests—was forced to resign the presidency and leave the country. The Nicaraguan Congress, elected in his place Dr. Jose Madrid, the United States' heir, continued to support the Estrada revolution against the Malo's government, which was not sufficiently pro-American for the Washington Administration.

President Madrid protested to President Taft against American interference, but the United States insisted that American ships carrying arms and ammunition for the rebels be permitted to pass through the blockade established by the authorized government, and that customs duties be paid by the authorized government, and that customs duties be paid to the revolutionists.

The government troops, however, defeated the rebels despite the aid given by Americans, and forced Estrada to retreat to Bluefields. At once the American marines landed, and prevented the government forces from blockading the city. The insurgents then reorganized, with the aid of American troops and seized power. On August 20, Madrid resigned. A week later Estrada and General Emiliano Chamorro entered Managua, the capital of Nicaragua.

(Continued from page 1)

Hindenburg Acts to
Save Junkers Army

(Continued from page 1)

be left in its present condition as a state within a state, comparatively free from parliamentary control and recruited almost exclusively from persons unfriendly to the present democratic republic. For this purpose it is necessary that Gen. Otto Gessler, reichswehr minister, shall remain.

Hindenburg's appeal to Marx is in the nature of an order to ignore parliamentary arithmetic to protect the reichswehr and its minister, Gen. Gessler.

The Manchester (England) Guardian correspondent, who telegraphed a few days ago a description of President Hindenburg's influence in the present crisis, which he defined as verging on the unconstitutional, was publicly warned in a semi-official communication in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, which largely belongs to the German foreign office.

The issue, therefore, is whether the reichswehr will be reformed and its independent activities curbed in accordance with the spirit of an ultra-democratic republic. The immediate reply to the constitution is a conservative one, or whether the reichswehr will be reformed and its independent activities curbed in accordance with the spirit of an ultra-democratic republic.

The recruiting, awakening and coordination of the workers in their own Industrial Grand Army, where they stand elbow to elbow in class conscious array, feeling themselves

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Twenty Years of American "Diplomacy" With Nicaragua

A Tale Kellogg Has Never Told

Has the United States respected the sovereignty of Nicaragua during the last decade or two?

Has it supported only the governments desired by the Nicaraguan people, or has it tried to use this small Central American government as a pawn for the profit of American bankers?

In view of its own conduct is it consistent for the United States to protest against the supposed action of Mexico in supplying arms to Dr. Sacasa?

The following brief summary of our relations with Nicaragua during the last twenty years tells the tale—a tale of which many Americans will feel nothing but shame: a tale which explains the growing suspicion in which the United States is being held in Central and South America.

1907

Under the guidance of the United States, delegates from the five central American states met and drew up a series of conventions designed to promote unity in Central America.

The most important of these agreements was the one providing for a central America Court of Justice composed of five members, one from each state, to which all disputes would be referred until further notice.

The United States, not a signatory to these conventions, began to take a hand in settling disputes.

1909

A revolution against Zelaya broke out, financed by Adolfo Diaz, a local official of Buena Vista at La Loma y Los Angeles Mining Company, an American corporation, the same Diaz that the United States has lately recognized as President. Diaz was receiving a salary of \$10,000 a year. Though he was not known to have other resources, he was in a position to advance \$600,000 in behalf of the revolution and eventually he repaid him self.

The revolution broke out October 8.

On October 7, the American consul, seeming to know of the revolution in advance, wired Washington that it would break out the next day and that the new government would make a revolution.

On October 8, the American consul, and the new government would appeal to Washington immediately for recognition.

He was not informed of the secret movements of the revolutionists.

Five days later Consul Thomas C. Moffat reported that a provisional government had been established with General Juan Estrada at the head and that the government was "friendly to American interests" and guaranteed "a payment of all concessions not owned by foreigners."

As the fighting between the Zelaya government and the rebels grew sharper, steamers of the United States Fruit Company and other American vessels bearing the Nicaraguan flag transported men and munitions for the revolutionists with the knowledge and assistance of the State Department representatives in Washington.

The pretext for an open break with the Zelaya government came late in 1926, when two American filibusters, caught trying to dynamite a vessel loaded with Zelaya's men, were court-martialed and executed after a confession.

Although these filibusters had assumed all of the responsibilities of war, Secretary of State Moffat, on December 1, sent a note to the Nicaraguan Charge d'Affaires giving him his passports and declaring that the United States was on the side of revolutionaries.

Zelaya—opposed by American interests—was forced to resign the presidency and leave the country. The Nicaraguan Congress, elected in his place Dr. Jose Madrid, the United States' heir, continued to support the Estrada revolution against the Malo's government, which was not sufficiently pro-American for the Washington Administration.

President Madrid protested to President Taft against American interference, but the United States insisted that American ships carrying arms and ammunition for the rebels be permitted to pass through the blockade established by the authorized government, and that customs duties be paid by the authorized government, and that customs duties be paid to the revolutionists.

The government troops, however, defeated the rebels despite the aid given by Americans, and forced Estrada to retreat to Bluefields. At once the American marines landed, and prevented the government forces from blockading the city. The insurgents then reorganized, with the aid of American troops and seized power. On August 20, Madrid resigned. A week later Estrada and General

How The American Nation Is Being Militarized

Editor's Note

Norman Thomas has been one of the outstanding leaders in the fight against militarism in the United States during the last dozen years. When the war broke out he was an influential minister in an immigrant section of New York. During the campaign of Morris Hillquit for mayor he came out in a great Madison Square meeting flat footed for peace and for socialism. He resigned his pulpit. He became editor of the *WORLD OF TOMORROW* and, through his writings and his rare eloquence, worked day and night for the termination of the war and for a decent treatment for the conscientious objector. Later he became associate editor of the *NATION* and Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy. In 1924 he ran as candidate for Governor on the Socialist ticket and, in 1925, for Mayor. On the occasion of the death of Eugene V. Debs he was called upon to preside at the Debs Memorial Services in Terre Haute and in New York.

Read this article. Show it to your fellow workers. And pledge yourself to renewed efforts against militarism and the system for profits of which militarism is but one of the hideous fruits. (*The Challenge of War* by Norman Thomas can be purchased from the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City at 10 cents a copy, 12 copies for \$1.00).

—Harry W. Laidler

By Norman Thomas
(Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy)

Everybody knows that we are a peaceful people. That is, everybody except what are left of the Indian tribes, the Mexicans, the Haitians, the Filipinos, the Nicaraguans, and Latin Americans generally, the Chinese and most of the other nations, lie in disarmament. But it is use-

less or worse than useless to think that you can permit imperialism to grow and still disarm. The surprising thing is that our growth in military force has not been greater and that the demands of our big army and navy men have not borne more fruit.

Nevertheless our armed forces on land, to say nothing of our navy, are by no means inconsiderable. Outside of our regular army the National Guard and Reserves enroll 408,119 men according to the latest figures. Of these men 207,825 attended some summer training camps in 1926. These summer camps which are very important in our present military program have grown by leaps and bounds. In 1921 there were 12 Citizens' Military Training Camps. In 1926 there were 49 with a total attendance of 34,191. This is exclusive of National Guard camps and camps for the Reserve Officers Training Corps.

Baffled in their attempt to get universal military training in service after "the war to end war," the army officers turned to a very effective use of schools and colleges and summer camps to recruit the reserves. We are making the Caribbean an American lake. We are a continual menace to any Mexican government. Our gunboats are far up Chinese rivers. Force or threat of force is behind the American investments which increase at about the rate of a billion a year throughout the world. Is it any wonder then that the nations refuse to see us as we still incline to see ourselves—an amiable Uncle Sam with the most benevolent intentions toward all mankind?

Our Increasing Army

The plain fact is that there has been a steady growth in our military and naval forces ever since "the war to end war" and that growth has been the inevitable accompaniment of our economic imperialism. I believe in disarmament. But it is use-

less or worse than useless to think that you can permit imperialism to grow and still disarm. The surprising thing is that our growth in military force has not been greater and that the demands of our big army and navy men have not borne more fruit.

Nevertheless our armed forces on land, to say nothing of our navy, are by no means inconsiderable. Outside of our regular army the National Guard and Reserves enroll 408,119 men according to the latest figures. Of these men 207,825 attended some summer training camps in 1926. These summer camps which are very important in our present military program have grown by leaps and bounds. In 1921 there were 12 Citizens' Military Training Camps. In 1926 there were 49 with a total attendance of 34,191. This is exclusive of National Guard camps and camps for the Reserve Officers Training Corps.

Baffled in their attempt to get universal military training in service after "the war to end war," the army officers turned to a very effective use of schools and colleges and summer camps to recruit the reserves. We are making the Caribbean an American lake. We are a continual menace to any Mexican government. Our gunboats are far up Chinese rivers. Force or threat of force is behind the American investments which increase at about the rate of a billion a year throughout the world. Is it any wonder then that the nations refuse to see us as we still incline to see ourselves—an amiable Uncle Sam with the most benevolent intentions toward all mankind?

Militarizing the Schools

There were in December 1926 119,114 students enrolled in 223 units. Of these 98 were junior units; that is, units in high schools and other secondary schools below college grades. Almost 40,000 school boys are getting training at an age when even the Kaiser let the German schoolboys alone.

More than half of these college and schoolboys—at least 60,000 of them—have no choice in the matter. They are required to take military drill or leave the school or college in which they are enrolled. This requirement is not the matter of a national law. Not even the so-called Land Grant

colleges are required by law to make military training compulsory. The compulsory feature is due to War Department pressure upon the schools and colleges. It is entirely opposed to the American tradition.

Baits and Bribes

But compulsion is not the chief reliance of our militarists. They use, rather successfully, all sorts of baits and bribes in the shape of pay for college students who go on with military work and free vacations at attractive camps for young farmers, workers and professional men. In many of our colleges social prestige and even a certain sort of sex appeal are used. Thus, the prettiest girl in some of our institutions is made an honorary Captain or Colonel and passes out the awards to the crack company at Commencement time with an appropriate tribute to the brave defenders of womanhood. And no one dares shout "Applesauce!" Meanwhile, parents, friends, and labor leaders are told that of course the purpose of all this military training is just to make good, healthy citizens. And they fall for it. Thus, we have President Green and other labor leaders on record as enthusiastic endorsers of Plattsburgh Camp.

The Military Ideal

What was it that President Green endorsed? A healthy vacation for young men with some military training for strictly defensive purposes? He may have thought so, but that is never the idea of the War Department. It is quite true that neither the training in the colleges nor the summer camps makes accomplished soldiers. It does something which is common. When the A. F. L. hobnobs with the army it is the army that wins! One of our brilliant Rear Admirals (retired), in a debate with me at Yale University calmly and frankly admitted that one purpose of our military training was to keep labor in order. And it is this program which President Green has endorsed in one of its most significant items.

like the war system. He merely needs to accept it. To this end the teaching of the Military Manuals is directed. Here, for instance, are quotations taken from the Manual in the University of Nebraska:

"In this world of ours force is the ultimate power." (Vol. IV, Page 207.)

"The main springs of human action are self-preservation and self-interest, in a word, selfishness—the 'touch of nature which makes the whole world kin'." (Page 208.)

"We may well ponder whether, if selfishness, ambition, competition and strife were to be removed from the world, we should not fall into a most intolerable state of stagnation." (Page 365.)

"During the course of a great war every government, whatever its previous form, should become a despotism." (Page 284.)

"An armistice should never be granted at the instance of a dead foed." (Page 235.)

And here is the frank statement from the Manual commonly called the Military Bible: "The object of all military training is to win battles." No bunk about citizenship here!

To Keep Labor in Order

Labor, to its credit, stands against the compulsory machismo of this doctrine. Why, in the name of all that is reasonable, should labor leaders recommend it when it is not compulsory? The spirit of labor and the spirit of militarism have nothing in common. When the A. F. L. hobnobs with the army it is the army that wins! One of our brilliant Rear Admirals (retired), in a debate with me at Yale University calmly and frankly admitted that one purpose of our military training was to keep labor in order. And it is this program which President Green has endorsed in one of its most significant items.

Why Oppose Military Training?

I have not space to give all the arguments against military training. Its alleged advantages in health and discipline can be far better imparted in colleges and in camps under methods which leave out the mental and physical goose-step inevitably connected with military drill. We can give our boys a healthy and valuable vacation without teaching them that unquestioning obedience in that form of wholesale murder which we call war is the supreme duty of the citizen.

"We may well ponder whether, if selfishness, ambition, competition and strife were to be removed from the world, we should not fall into a most intolerable state of stagnation." (Page 365.)

"During the course of a great war every government, whatever its previous form, should become a despotism." (Page 284.)

"An armistice should never be granted at the instance of a dead foed." (Page 235.)

And here is the frank statement from the Manual commonly called the Military Bible: "The object of all military training is to win battles." No bunk about citizenship here!

The Situation Today

Let us rapidly review the situation in America today. Economic imperialism is rampant. At any moment some untoward event in Mexico may set in train events that lead to war. The espionage laws are on the statute books ready for use in time of national emergency. Under the hypocritical guise of urging the wealth not be allowed to escape before Congress which sees to "control" wealth, but absolutely "scripts" all workers in the event of war. Meanwhile pending the arrival of the great emergency our chosen young men are being taught to a cept, if not to like, the war system with its cynical view of the possibilities of international cooperation at peace. Labor's progress is menaced as well as the hope of peace. A Munitions Battalion has been formed to train soldiers in the field to manage industry. As Assistant Secretary of War MacNider told the great open shop organization, the National Association of Manufacturers, the graduate of this Munitions Battalion "will always think of industry in relation to the army's problem." Labor men who want to think of industry in terms of human problems see in such a boast a menace to all our hopes.

Such is militarism in its American form. Who will fight it? How long will the farmers and workers be fooled into apathy or partial approval? Today American militarism menaces the poor folk of Nicaragua and Mexico. Tomorrow it will menace our own sons and brothers. Military training, as a labor leader approvingly told me, may teach the boys "to walk straight," but at the last the spirit of militarism and imperialism, twin demons now abroad in our land, can only teach our obedient boys to walk straight along the road that leads to a literal hell.

The appearance of military training in our colleges is not merely evil in itself. It contains a direct threat to academic liberty. Again it is lack of space which keeps me from reciting instance after instance where directly or indirectly the military department of a university or college has usurped the natural functions of the faculty, censored discussion, and otherwise sought to subdue institutions which ought to be the free republics of eager seekers after truth to the autocracy of an ill-informed militarism.

Such is militarism in its American form. Who will fight it? How long will the farmers and workers be fooled into apathy or partial approval? Today American militarism menaces the poor folk of Nicaragua and Mexico. Tomorrow it will menace our own sons and brothers. Military training, as a labor leader approvingly told me, may teach the boys "to walk straight," but at the last the spirit of militarism and imperialism, twin demons now abroad in our land, can only teach our obedient boys to walk straight along the road that leads to a literal hell.

The rapid advance of bankers' prosperity and bankers' dividends is one of the most significant and sinister developments of our time. It marks the swing of power and profit-taking over to a very small class which can dominate the world and strangle nations merely by monopolizing the circulation medium and inflating and deflating it to suit their plundering purposes. It is the most dangerous economic development of this epoch, marking a far greater centralization of economic power and a greater power to extort and rob than is possible to merely industrial owners.

The dizzy power of American high finance in the financial capital of America—New York City—is brought out strikingly in the following facts compiled by Leland Olds:

Thirty-five New York City banks and trust companies, which dominate the credit institutions of America, rank off dividends to the tune of \$76,150,000, or 19.6 per cent on their combined total capitalization, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

More than half of this dividend rakeoff went to the owners of 6 giants: the National City Bank, First National Bank, Chase National, National Bank of Commerce, Bankers Trust and the Central Union Trust Co. If we include Equitable Trust and Guaranty Trust we have 8 financial institutions disbursing \$45,290,000 in cash or about 60 percent of all the dividends paid by the 35 banks and trust companies included in the tabulation. These are the backbone of the Morgan-Kuhn-Loebl-Rockefeller money power which dominates the country.

The National City and First National banks lead with \$10,000,000 in cash dividends apiece. The National City represents the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests. The First National is J. P. Morgan. The First National dividends are 100 percent of the par value of the stock.

The enormous profits which these banks are making have boosted the market value of their securities to many times the sums originally invested. The stock of Morgan's First National bank with a par value of \$10,000,000 now has a market value of \$265,000,000 or 26 1/2 times the original investment.

Each \$1000 put into this bank as capital is now worth \$25,500 and is paying \$100 a year in cash dividends.

The National City stock with a par value of \$50,000,000 has a market value of \$320,000,000 or nearly 6 1/2 times the original investment. Chase National stock with a par value of \$40,000,000 has a market value of \$170,000,000. Bankers Trust with a par value of \$20,000,000 has a market value of \$134,000,000, while Central Union Trust with a \$12,500,000 par has a market value of \$117,500,000 or nearly 10 times the original investment.

These institutions control the country's credit. Credit is essential to modern economic life. Consequently the bankers' power to levy tribute is only limited by their interest in not killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

The rapid advance of bankers' prosperity and bankers' dividends is one of the most significant and sinister developments of our time. It marks the swing of power and profit-taking over to a very small class which can dominate the world and strangle nations merely by monopolizing the circulation medium and inflating and deflating it to suit their plundering purposes. It is the most dangerous economic development of this epoch, marking a far greater centralization of economic power and a greater power to extort and rob than is possible to merely industrial owners.

The dizzy power of American high finance in the financial capital of America—New York City—is brought out strikingly in the following facts compiled by Leland Olds:

Thirty-five New York City banks and trust companies, which dominate the credit institutions of America, rank off dividends to the tune of \$76,150,000, or 19.6 per cent on their combined total capitalization, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

More than half of this dividend rakeoff went to the owners of 6 giants: the National City Bank, First National Bank, Chase National, National Bank of Commerce, Bankers Trust and the Central Union Trust Co. If we include Equitable Trust and Guaranty Trust we have 8 financial institutions disbursing \$45,290,000 in cash or about 60 percent of the par value of the stock.

The enormous profits which these banks are making have boosted the market value of their securities to many times the sums originally invested. The stock of Morgan's First National bank with a par value of \$10,000,000 now has a market value of \$265,000,000 or 26 1/2 times the original investment.

Each \$1000 put into this bank as capital is now worth \$25,500 and is paying \$100 a year in cash dividends.

The National City stock with a par value of \$50,000,000 has a market value of \$320,000,000 or nearly 6 1/2 times the original investment. Chase National stock with a par value of \$40,000,000 has a market value of \$170,000,000. Bankers Trust with a par value of \$20,000,000 has a market value of \$134,000,000, while Central Union Trust with a \$12,500,000 par has a market value of \$117,500,000 or nearly 10 times the original investment.

These institutions control the country's credit. Credit is essential to modern economic life. Consequently the bankers' power to levy tribute is only limited by their interest in not killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

The rapid advance of bankers' prosperity and bankers' dividends is one of the most significant and sinister developments of our time. It marks the swing of power and profit-taking over to a very small class which can dominate the world and strangle nations merely by monopolizing the circulation medium and inflating and deflating it to suit their plundering purposes. It is the most dangerous economic development of this epoch, marking a far greater centralization of economic power and a greater power to extort and rob than is possible to merely industrial owners.

The dizzy power of American high finance in the financial capital of America—New York City—is brought out strikingly in the following facts compiled by Leland Olds:

Thirty-five New York City banks and trust companies, which dominate the credit institutions of America, rank off dividends to the tune of \$76,150,000, or 19.6 per cent on their combined total capitalization, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

More than half of this dividend rakeoff went to the owners of 6 giants: the National City Bank, First National Bank, Chase National, National Bank of Commerce, Bankers Trust and the Central Union Trust Co. If we include Equitable Trust and Guaranty Trust we have 8 financial institutions disbursing \$45,290,000 in cash or about 60 percent of the par value of the stock.

The enormous profits which these banks are making have boosted the market value of their securities to many times the sums originally invested. The stock of Morgan's First National bank with a par value of \$10,000,000 now has a market value of \$265,000,000 or 26 1/2 times the original investment.

Each \$1000 put into this bank as capital is now worth \$25,500 and is paying \$100 a year in cash dividends.

The National City stock with a par value of \$50,000,000 has a market value of \$320,000,000 or nearly 6 1/2 times the original investment. Chase National stock with a par value of \$40,000,000 has a market value of \$170,000,000. Bankers Trust with a par value of \$20,000,000 has a market value of \$134,000,000, while Central Union Trust with a \$12,500,000 par has a market value of \$117,500,000 or nearly 10 times the original investment.

These institutions control the country's credit. Credit is essential to modern economic life. Consequently the bankers' power to levy tribute is only limited by their interest in not killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

The rapid advance of bankers' prosperity and bankers' dividends is one of the most significant and sinister developments of our time. It marks the swing of power and profit-taking over to a very small class which can dominate the world and strangle nations merely by monopolizing the circulation medium and inflating and deflating it to suit their plundering purposes. It is the most dangerous economic development of this epoch, marking a far greater centralization of economic power and a greater power to extort and rob than is possible to merely industrial owners.

The dizzy power of American high finance in the financial capital of America—New York City—is brought out strikingly in the following facts compiled by Leland Olds:

Thirty-five New York City banks and trust companies, which dominate the credit institutions of America, rank off dividends to the tune of \$76,150,000, or 19.6 per cent on their combined total capitalization, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

More than half of this dividend rakeoff went to the owners of 6 giants: the National City Bank, First National Bank, Chase National, National Bank of Commerce, Bankers Trust and the Central Union Trust Co. If we include Equitable Trust and Guaranty Trust we have 8 financial institutions disbursing \$45,290,000 in cash or about 60 percent of the par value of the stock.

The enormous profits which these banks are making have boosted the market value of their securities to many times the sums originally invested. The stock of Morgan's First National bank with a par value of \$10,000,000 now has a market value of \$265,000,000 or 26 1/2 times the original investment.

Each \$1000 put into this bank as capital is now worth \$25,500 and is paying \$100 a year in cash dividends.

The National City stock with a par value of \$50,000,000 has a market value of \$320,000,000 or nearly 6 1/2 times the original investment. Chase National stock with a par value of \$40,000,000 has a market value of \$170,000,000. Bankers Trust with a par value